Fellowship

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The Kuomintang Dictatorship, by Wilbur Burton

ERP--Promise, Menace or Dilemma? by A. J. Muste

Unfinished Assignment, by Harold Barton

The Things That Are Not Caesar's, by Milton Mayer

Nine Anti-War Lithographs, by Louis Freund

THIS MONTH

LOUIS FREUND's fine lithographs have been exhibited in New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Seattle, and in the Library of Congress. A 1A0 during the war, the artist now teaches at Ozark Arts and Crafts, Springfield, Mo. . . . Harold Barton, who writes *Unfinished Assignment,* is ex-CPS and Executive Secretary of the National Mental Health Foundation. . . . Wilbur Burton, longtime correspondent in China for the New York Post and other papers, writes *The Kuomintang Dictatorship* from first-hand knowledge. . . . Shelby Rooks, author of this month's meditation, is minister of St. James Presbyterian Church in New York and a member of the National Council. . . . A. J. Muste analyzes ERP with his usual clarity and vigor . . . and Milton Mayer begins a promising bimonthly series of articles . . . all in all, a good issue, we hope you'll agree.

NEXT MONTH

The pro and con of Henry Wallace, by James Peck, ex-prison CO and contributor to newspapers and magazines (pro), and Dwight MacDonald, editor of *Politics* (con) . . . A Memorial to Gandhi by John Haynes Holmes, just returned from India. . . . *London letter* by Vera Brittain. . . . two pages of action suggestions for local FOR groups . . . and lots more besides.

FELLOWSHIP

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Fellowship

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Subheads

Year of Decision

At least two pundits have declared that 1948 will be a "year of decision," following what one of them called a "year of clarification." In the temporary absence of our own crystal ball, we're willing to let the first half of this neat categorizing go by, but we would like more information about the "clarification" part. From where we sat, 1947 looked more like a year of confusion, esthetically buried, in New York, under twenty-six inches of snow.

Americans seemed pretty much confused about their beliefs, for one thing. Various individuals and committees, searching assiduously for un-American and subversive activities, managed to undermine several basic American principles in the course of their activities and thereby themselves became, according to our office lexicographer, un-American and subversive.

FELLOWSHIP was accused by a reader of sounding like the *Daily Worker*, apparently because it was caught "preaching collectivism in the form of co-ops (and) labor unions" and "certain undesirable white-black racial relationships."

Year of confusion, we call it—black, black confusion. Let's put off the decisions until 1949, and see if we can't clarify things a little more in 1948.

Disloyal

The difficulty about the various propositions for weeding out the "disloyal," whether in government offices, Hollywood, or the school system, is that everyone reads the word with his own definition in mind. (We know a man who thinks it's un-American to wear a hat—stops the entrance of the purple flame of power and so leaves the U. S. that much weaker in its struggle with communism.) We think it would be a good idea to get the disloyal and un-American out of both Washington and the schools, but if both we and Representative Thomas were consulted, there'd probably be nobody left either on the banks of the Potomac or in the country's halls of learning!

For instance, we think it is un-American to get people fired from their jobs because of opinions they are reputed to hold, with no sub-

stantial evidence that they have done anything illegal and with no opportunity given to defend themselves.

We would not give a pinch of snuff for the amount of loyalty to be found in the report of the President's Loyalty Review Board, which bowed to the FBI's "insistent demands" that government employees accused of disloyalty might be fired without knowing the identity of their accusers or having the chance to cross-examine hostile witnesses.

We think it disloyal to world unity, which is now a "must," to advocate the adoption of peacetime military training in the United States.

If pressed hard, we would even have a hard time defending the loyalty of speculation in or hoarding of grain needed by undernourished children, or of permitting the anarchy of uncontrolled prices and profits and calling it freedom.

And for any one of these odd notions we should certainly be labelled un-American and disloyal by many, many Americans!

Definition

There is no exact equivalent in England for that now indispensable term "un-American." The nearest approach we've seen was the statement of British Magistrate Muirhead in sentencing a man who had bitten a policeman on the ear. "That," said His Honor, "was most un-British."

Moral

We have recently been fascinated by the story of the two Australian veterans who met, and fell, in the Malayan campaign of 1941, wounded by the same bomb. Ned was permanently blinded; Phil became deaf. United by common disaster, they stuck together until now they mann age, between them, to produce onn whole reaction. Ned hears for Phili Phil sees for Ned. Out of necessitt has sprung a new communion, nov developed to the point where the run a successful farm near Sydney go to movies, listen to the radic and take courses jointly in the Gov ernment's rehabilitation program.

It is not our intention to underl line the moral of this tale, except t point out that two nations, veteran of the same war, who were blinde and deafened by a bomb burst o August 6, 1945, might do worse tha re-read the story of Ned and Phil

Platform

In the year of vision, 1900, th Democratic Party of the U. S. A. in corporated in its platform the foll lowing statement:

"We oppose militarism. It mean conquest abroad and intimidatio and oppression at home. It mean the strong arm which has ever bee fatal to free institutions. It is wha millions of our citizens have flee from in Europe. It will impose upo our peace-loving people a larg standing army, an unnecessary bur den of taxation, and would be a con stant menace to their liberties.

"The Republic has no place for vast military establishment, a sur forerunner of compulsory militar service and conscription. . . . W denounce it as un-American, un democratic and unrepublican, and a a subversion of the ancient and fixe principles of a free people."

In the year of desolation, 1947 this torch was firmly grasped by new political group, not in the United States but in Japan. Accord ing to the prospectus of the newly formed Chuo-to or Central Party:

"Neither capitalism nor socialism

is entrenched in the new party movement. Absolute pacifism will be the guiding spirit."

Precedent

Prosecutors in the Nuremberg trials of the executives of the Krupp munitions combine in Germany have been bringing in as evidence of guilt testimony that the Krupp scientists and technicians were working during peacetime with the German government in the development of new weapons, especially rockets. This would seem to be a somewhat unsettling precedent in the eyes of various American industrialists now busily helping the Army produce rockets, jet-propelled missiles, and various other little wartime trinkets. It's always possible that the next set of trials might be held in Washington or New York.

Slave Labor

Also at Nuremberg, Friedrich Flick, German steel magnate, was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment for exploiting slave labor—Russian war prisoners and others. His sentence was imposed exactly two weeks after an appeal by the American Red Cross for the release of 2,500,000 prisoners of war still held by the Allies. The appeal included the sentence: "Their individual abilities are running to seed and they are only considered in the light of the work they are compelled to do, as a rule for extremely low wages."

The United States holds no war prisoners, but about two-thirds of the 600,000 held by France were captured by American troops and turned over to France by this country, which retains, says the *New York Times*, "an active interest in their fate." Other concentrations of prisoners, as estimated by the International Red Cross, are: Russia, 800,000; Great Britain, 413,000; Yugoslavia, 90,000; Poland, 50,000; Belgium, 20,000.

Democracy

The American-supported Greek government had a run-in recently with the American-financed Greek army, and came out second best. The army had been summoning for questioning before courts-martial editors of a liberal newspaper that had criticized certain army practices. Premier Themistocles Sophoulis ordered the army to cut it out, but the Army went right ahead regardless. American Congressmen favoring UMT please note.

Straws in a Foolish Wind

Thornton Wilder's play, "The Skin of Our Teeth," has been banned from the Russian zone of Germany because it deals with the unavoidability of war—"an outlook with which the Soviet Union is not in agreement."

* * *

Occupation of conquered Germany and Japan will cost the United States this year $1,100,000,000, Secretary of the Army Royall told Congress in December. Mr. Royall called this a "thought-provoking sum."

* * *

The National Tax Equality Association, an organization whose sole purpose appears to be attacks on what it calls the "tax-exempt" feature of co-ops and which employs thirty registered lobbyists in Washington for that work, is classified as an educational organization by the Treasury. Contributions to the NTEA are, therefore, tax-exempt.

* * *

A British speaker told a recent meeting that Great Britain could survive atomic war for fifteen months at most.

If America sends aid to put down the Chinese Communists, says this writer, it will bolster—

The Kuomintang Dictatorship

By WILBUR BURTON

AMERICAN intervention in China on behalf of the Chiang Kai-shek régime may well be the issue that sets off the anti-Soviet crusade now in the making. On the basis of almost ten years spent as a newspaperman in various parts of China I oppose wholeheartedly all the programs for the support of General Chiang that are being marshalled by the World War III-mongers in Washington and throughout the country.

Let me emphasize that I do not write in any principled defense of the Chinese Communists. I am not only anti-Communist in political principle, but because I often exposed the Communist propagandist nonsense about the Chinese Red areas, I was in my active journalistic days frequently denounced in *China Today*, *The New Masses*, and *The Daily Worker* as everything from a "tool of American imperialists" to a "Trotskyist barroom journalist"—although Trotsky himself once ousted me from his presence on the grounds that I was working for a pro-Stalinist organ: *The Baltimore Sun!*

The Communist movement in China is certainly the attempt of a minority to gain power. To call it "illegal" and for that reason to compare it unfavorably with the Chiang government would be, however, fantastic in the light of China's history. The only realistic definition of "illegal" in Chinese political philosophy is that implicit in the aphorism about rebels against the government: "Victors they are kings; vanquished they are bandits." Thirty years ago the Kuomintang of General Chiang was also an illegally armed minority, but the recognized government of that time was a minority too, however legal its armaments might have been deemed to be.

Reply to a Missionary

The Kuomintang Dictatorship, originally written as a three-page letter answering China Missionary (see FELLOWSHIP, Nov. 1947), grew into an article through the urging of the editors. Its author, in addition to his experience as a newspaper correspondent, spent a considerable part of the recent war imprisoned as a conscientious objector. Calling himself an "agnostic pagan," he poses some questions that will be of concern to thoughtful Christians.

Kuomintang a Minority

At no time has the Kuomintang ever been more than a minority. The period of its greatest popular appeal, during which it initially rose to power, was when it was merged with the Communists in 1925-27. Since the split both the Communists

and the Kuomintang have been only minorities, each seeking to dominate China; and in the absence of either Gallup polls or any other kind of polls (save a recent "election" more farcical than the Soviet model) it would be impossible to say which had the greater mass support. The only fair conclusion—which I shall be glad to document at length if anyone doubts it—is that the Kuomintang could never have become the major and internationally recognized government of China without foreign aid (Japanese, American and British); nor could it have maintained itself during the past ten years, first against the Japanese and then against the Communists, without American aid.

While the Kuomintang during and since its ascent to power has always depended primarily on foreign aid, Russia never gave the Chinese Communists any appreciable aid except during a period around 1940 when the Kuomintang and Communists were allied against Japan. Since the end of World War II, of course, it has done considerably more.

Both the Communists and the Kuomintang spent more of their energies after Pearl Harbor in holding their lines against each other than in fighting the Japanese, but upon Japan's surrender the Communists were in the logical position to take over all the North China area, had not the United States intervened against them on behalf of General Chiang by air-ferrying his troops to this region—which may well be set down as Washington's first move for war against Russia. It was *after this* that Russia began to send vast aid to the Chinese Communists. North China being largely an area of land-owning peasants, it is undoubtedly true that the Communists had a relatively small following there, but on the basis of a pretty good first-hand knowledge of the region I would assert that the same was true of the Kuomintang. The people there would like nothing so much as to be completely let alone by both Communists and Kuomintang—and I know that many found the Japanese a lesser evil than the latter.

On the other hand, the Communists have an ardent following among the urban proletariat of China and the tens of millions of landless peasants, while nowhere does the Kuomintang have any *ardent* following. Among the wealthy, the office-holders and some other small social groupings, including many if not most of the minute minority of Christian converts, the Kuomintang is preferred to the Communists, albeit without enthusiasm, simply as the lesser evil. There is no majority in the country save an inert mass, which the Kuomintang has never been able to arouse or enthuse nearly as much as the Communists have when they have not been halted by foreign or Kuomintang guns.

Only Dynamic Party

In brief, let anyone like it or not, the cold hard truth is that while the Communists are a minority, they are the only potent, dynamic party of the country and would quickly sweep the Kuomintang into the dustbin of history if there were neither Russian aid *for* them nor American intervention *against* them. It does not follow, however, that they would then succeed in establishing Communist rule; indeed, I doubt that they would, unless they became less Russian doctrinaire and more Chinese laissez-faire.

It must be recognized that more people are materially better off un-

der Chinese Communist rule than under Chiang's rule, but to be entirely fair to Chiang's régime it should be noted that the present Communist areas are those where population pressure against natural resources is somewhat less than in most of the areas under Chiang. I was never in any of the Communist areas, but my judgment is based on many reliable sources at my command—not including any of the fellow-travelers such as Agnes Smedley and Edgar Snow.

A Naked Dictatorship

The Kuomintang régime is a naked dictatorship that is as totalitarian as it has the efficiency to be, and does not possess a single political virtue. Its very few officials who are not corrupt and self-seeking are without any actual power. There are no liberals within the Kuomintang save a few old and tired ones—lingering idealists of revolutionary days—who have no influence whatsoever on party policy. Those who control the Kuomintang deny by their acts, whatever their words, that there is any need for radical changes other than the liquidation of all opposition to their will to power. And there being no organized political groupings of any consequence in China save the Kuomintang and the Communists, the latter have only the choice of allowing themselves to be wiped out by the former or carrying on as they are.

Not a single concrete act of the Kuomintang régime since it became the major government of China has in any way aided the masses of China. There have been, to be sure, many gestures to fool gullible foreigners, but never a single effective measure over the area under its control to curb the rapacity of the landlords or the predacity of the industrialists, or to raise literacy or improve health. So-called opium suppression, directed by a Shanghai gangster who is to opium what Al Capone was to bootleg booze in the United States, has been simply a racket with part of the cut going into General Chiang's coffers. (It was this same gangster that directed the slaughter of Communists and other labor leaders in Shanghai in 1927 when General Chiang split with the Communists.)

Public manual labor is forced labor. The vast airfields built for American planes during the war were not only built by forced labor but on land confiscated from the peasants, who are then not allowed to use the highways for their ancient vehicles, which would spoil the road for military trucks and the American automobiles of high officials. There is no conscription of the rich, only of the poor, and frequently by literally roping them in. And the very wealthy pay virtually no taxes!

Government is solely by open police measures and secret terror, especially the assassination of critics. There is a thorough-going secret police that is the most efficient branch of the government, and it extends to Chinese abroad by covert threats against their relatives in China. Also, no Chinese student is any longer allowed to go abroad who is not approved by the secret police, and with his relatives as hostage in China he is kept thoroughly regimented while abroad.

All this is not to say that the Kuomintang régime of China is on a par with the late Nazi régime in Berlin or the present Bolshevik régime in Moscow. The Nazis were and the Bolsheviks are more efficient in their totalitarianism—and both also instituted some measures of genuine social benefit for the masses.

And, of course, the Kuomintang régime is a Christian one! At least Chiang Kai-shek and the Soong family are avowed Christians, while the Communists are as hostile to Christianity and Christian missionaries as they are to Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism.

Being an agnostic pagan myself, I raise no argument for or against the Communist attitude to religion. However, even if Communists were more tolerant than they are of Christianity, those in China have every reason on the basis of past history to regard American missionaries as agents of Chiang Kai-shek. Ever since Chiang's avowed conversion to Christianity, he has been generally supported by American missionaries in China and their mouthpieces in this country. There are some exceptions, as I know personally, but the Chiang-missionary *entente cordiale* has been so pronounced that the Communists have no difficulty justifying to the Chinese their suspicion that every missionary is working for Chiang.

Indeed, I would suggest that Chiang's avowed conversion to Christianity was for him the master political stroke that he designed it to be; viewing the matter strictly objectively, I would add that it was a further setback for Christianity in China. At one time Christian missionary activity was associated with foreign imperialism and the war-lord régimes it maintained in the old capital of Peking, a fact that materially assisted General Chiang, in alliance with the Communists, in his rise to power. Now Christian missionary activity is associated with a corrupt, unpopular, brutalitarian régime that is propped up by American militarism, and this undoubtedly adds conviction to Communist anti-Christian and anti-American propaganda.

Support of aid to the Chiang government of China means playing into the hands of the American militarists, who want to aid Chiang in preparation for war with Russia. It is also helping to build up hatred for both America and Christianity in China. It is, in brief, a manifestation of that fatal folly so rampant today in America, where we find groups aiding and cooperating with various forces of reaction and brutalitarianism all over the world on the specious rationalization that they are thereby opposing Bolshevik reaction and brutalitarianism.

If a non-Christian may be permitted to invoke a Christian avowed principle, I say that to support one intrinsic evil against another is not only intrinsically evil, but will be of no avail to overcome the evil that is opposed.

Light - Fingered

"I would not begrudge any amount of money that we could afford to spend in China if it would result in a democratic government. But we know by sad experience that the greedy grafters who surround Chiang Kai-shek would put into their own pockets from a third to a half of any sum that we might send to China. So cynical are the light-fingered members of the Kuomintang that, according to excellent authority, they even barter and sell to the so-called Communists arms and supplies while in transit from the United States to China."

HAROLD L. ICKES, *The New York Post*, January 2, 1948.

ERP—Promise, Menace or Dilemma

By A. J. MUSTE

AMERICANS began the new year faced with two not unrelated developments: the European Recovery Program (ERP), and the presidential candidacy of Henry Agard Wallace. There will be heated debate over the promise or menace of each, but it will be much closer to the truth to think of each as essentially a dilemma, complicated and painful. In this brief comment I have time to deal only with ERP, and this only in the most summary fashion.

One way to state the dilemma is through the reactions of our Fellowship people in western Europe, as I got them last summer. I do not mean that any one or all of them together told me in so many words what I am about to say. But it is what I got out of things they said and hinted and left unsaid. It goes like this:

"If we do not get aid from America, millions will go hungry. Many may starve. There will be unrest, and very likely civil war. We shall be pushed into the arms of Stalin: the Communists will take over, and will probably be very tough with a lot of people, including pacifists. If we get American aid, these things will not happen. So far as the immediate future is concerned, that will be to the good.

"But at the same time, in the present historical context, such action will raise the wall between Russia and the West higher. It will cut Germany more certainly in half. It will draw us French, English and Dutch more closely into the American economic orbit—and into the American military orbit. The atomic armaments race will be intensified. The eventual outbreak of atomic war becomes more certain, and in that war Western Europe will be the battleground and will be wiped out."

A Bitter Dilemma

It is a bitter dilemma for Western Europeans: revolution soon or annihilation in atomic war later. But let me throw in here a brief parenthetical comment about the economic situation.

It is far from certain that ERP will put Western Europe back on its feet and thus provide the breathing space of at least temporary stabilization. The reasons for the economic plight of this region, despite phenomenal industrial recovery in France and the Low Countries, are:

1. German industry, which was the biggest factor in prewar production, is down to a bare third of that level.

2. The natural trade between Western and Eastern Europe is cut off.

3. Russian trade, which was considerable under the Czars, has been virtually cancelled.

4. European countries no longer can draw on their colonial empires.

5. Two World Wars have wiped out European foreign investments.

Whether anything will be done about German industry, or can be done without Russian cooperation, is doubtful. Without plenty of such cooperation nothing can be done to restore East-West trade, while to make up for the loss of colonial and foreign assets Western Europe will have to become an economic unit, able to buy and sell as a unit in the markets of the world.

I am sure that our European FOR people would agree also with the recent statement by an American economist that "it is fantasy to imagine . . . that an unplanned, free-enterprise Europe, divided into weak national units, could endure without colonial resources or foreign investments. If the ERP is to succeed, it will be through socialist planning, not capitalist revival." Is there any reason to suppose that the Truman administration and Congress and American industrialists and financiers will permit—much less use—ERP to accomplish these objects? End parenthesis.

Two Arguments in Support

When we turn to the discussion going on in the United States today, we find that pacifists and thoughtful non-pacifists advance two arguments for support—more or less hesitant and qualified—of ERP: the Argument from Starvation and the Argument for a Breathing-Space.

"Granted that ERP is part of the campaign against Russia, tied in with the Truman Doctrine and the 'get-tough policy,' people have to be fed. You can't vote against preventing starvation now."

True. Pacifists never want anybody to starve, not even soldiers in the front lines, or airmen dropping atomic bombs on cities. But this does not mean that if some billions of dollars are voted to feed American soldiers or the troops of allies, pacifists become enthusiastic and describe this as a step toward peace. *Objectively considered, the fact is that ERP is a means of buying or holding support for the United States in its power-struggle with Russia as surely as Russia also is buying or dragooning support in its sphere of influence.*

That is a harsh thing to have to say. But suppose we ignore entirely the fact that ERP will not help Russia and her satellites, or ascribe that entirely to Russia's viciousness (which would be an oversimplification), the fact still remains that spokesmen for American policy openly advocate ERP and put off aid to China (where more people are far nearer starvation) on the ground that even among "allies" we have to concentrate aid where American interests will be most effectively served!

A "Breathing-Space"?

It is true also that if ERP does not go into effect, communism may gain rapidly in Europe, and this might convert Americans to the idea of immediate war against Russia. With ERP, we and the rest of the world get a breathing-space. All-out shooting war is so horrible that pacifists certainly will thank God for even a day's postponement. From that angle they could be grateful even for Munich. But this did not mean that pacifists generally raised Hosannahs over Munich as a step toward peace. The "breathing-space" was used by all the nations involved to step up armaments production. So today ERP has been preceded and will be surrounded by intensive production of atomic and bacterial weapons. The press has made that clear. Such a breathing-space is not a step toward peace. It is a breathing-space which

militarists both in Russia and in the United States may welcome.

What, then, is our task? I think it is threefold.

Our first responsibility is to the truth. There is no chance whatever that the breathing-space will be used to promote peace if people remain under a delusion as to what is going on. In this connection it is most important that we make our criticisms independently so as not to be identified with the "we can't afford it" arguments of some and the pro-Soviet arguments of others.

"Support, But . . ." Dangers

It follows that it is futile—or, more precisely, dangerous—for pacifists and church people to carry on a propaganda which says: "We support ERP, *but* it should be administered by UN; it should not be used to contain Russia; relief should be given on a strictly non-political basis"—unless they are prepared to say that they will oppose ERP if Congress and the Administration do not accept these conditions. Otherwise the politicians will know that they are listening to empty words and need give no heed. As a matter of fact, the politicians having mapped out a program to serve their own ends, now want the "conditional" support—i.e., support and discreet silence—of the idealists!

If there were a pacifist in Congress, his best course, as I see it, would be to propose a genuine alternative program: much more substantial, strictly nonpolitical relief and reconstruction aid on a *global* basis, and peace with Russia and disarmament. The policy of food and tractors in one hand and atomic bombs in the other is a contradiction on the face of it and is, no matter under what camouflage, still a policy of war and disaster. Failing adoption of a less disastrous program, it seems to me a pacifist in Congress, like pacifists in general, would render the best service to his country and to humanity by abstaining from voting—i.e., refusing to vote for or against a patent and senseless contradiction.

I do not share the fear of some deeply concerned people that such a course might mean "the defeat of ERP and so a share in the responsibility for withholding food from Europe's starving." Pacifist propaganda for adequate, ungrudging relief, especially if pacifists themselves give sacrificially, will, in so far as it has any effect, increase the appropriation Congess will make under ERP as well as stimulate private giving.

A Sham Battle

For the rest, the ERP debate in Congress will be largely a sham battle, heavily influenced by considerations related to the presidential election, over microscopically divergent roads to disaster. The bipartisan foreign policy is a reality.

Even so far as immediate hunger and civil turmoil are concerned, it is a policy of feeding some Western Europeans in order to fend off civil upheaval there, and as a counterpart, for American strategic interests, neglecting starving and civil war-ridden Chinese and abetting or at best neglecting civil turmoil in Greece.

That is the bitter dilemma. Can pacifists afford to be drawn into voting in that kind of a poll? Can we afford to do anything but patiently and persistently bear our witness both to the folly and wickedness of the nation's present course and the need of a creative and drastic alternative?

MILTON MAYER WRITES OF

The Things That Are Not Caesar's

LAST summer I asked the FOR Conference, at its opening session, if it could help me justify my purchase of guns to be used for the killing of my fellowmen. I am a heavy purchaser of guns, spending 75 percent of 30 percent of my income for this purpose, and doing so voluntarily. Since I do not want to kill my fellowmen, I felt the need of justification. I still feel the need.

I have tried to justify myself. I have said that this purchase is not voluntary, but compulsory, since it goes by the name of taxes; but this justification fails me when I remind myself that I was born to be free and, in the process of becoming free, to repudiate any organization which, in the name of demanding my services, demanded my freedom. I have said, further, that if I stopped purchasing guns when I paid my taxes, I would still be purchasing them when I bought my bread; but this justification fails me when I remind myself that, while it is best to purchase no guns at all, it is better to purchase few than many. I have said, finally, that I cannot, because of my heavy financial obligations, jeopardize my income; but this justification fails me when I remind myself that the weight of my financial obligations, if it does not justify my being a pickpocket or a second-story man, does not justify my being a murderer.

I still feel the need of justification. I have tried to find it in Scripture, and every night, at the time when other men pray, I tell myself that I am enjoined to render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's. But while the head on the coin is Caesar's it is not the head but the inscription which tells me whose the coin is, and the inscription reads, "In God We Trust." And I cannot find justification in rendering coin to Caesar when, in that very act, I am rendering to him lives that are God's.

Will Not Stop War

The justification which comforts me most is that I will not stop war by refusing to pay taxes. But this justification fails me, too, when I remind myself that what I want is not to stop war; what I want is to stop killing my fellowmen. If what I wanted was to stop war, why, then, I would not be a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation or of the Jewish Peace Fellowship or a conscientious objector or an advocate of pacifism. I am not so much of a fool as to suppose that any of these organizations or positions are able to stop war. The power to stop war is not in my hands, and never will be. The only power that is in my hands is to stop killing my fellowmen.

So whether or not my tax-refusal stops war is irrelevant. It is conceivable—but only conceivable—that my tax-refusal would move another man to refuse his taxes on the same ground, and his still another man, and so on until all men were

moved to stop purchasing guns for the killing of their fellowmen. But this is only a conception, and a thin one, and it has nothing to do with my need for justification.

I do not see how the FOR or the War Resisters League or the National Council for the Prevention of War or the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom or the Jewish Peace Fellowship or—above all—the three peace churches in Christ—can go on purchasing guns—and worse yet—compel their employees to purchase guns. Indeed, I do not see how any Christian or Jew can purchase guns and still be a Christian or Jew. But this is not my problem, any more than is the stopping of war. My problem is to stop killing my fellowmen, no matter what anyone else does.

I tell myself—as my justifications fail me one by one—that there are other ways to oppose war. But here again I am compelled to remember that I am not trying to oppose war; I am trying to stop killing my fellowmen. It might be argued that my not killing my fellowmen is the best way—and the only way, when things have gone this far—to oppose war. It might, as I say, be argued, and I am the boy to argue it. But it is not the argument that I have got to make if what I want to do is to stop killing my fellowmen.

My justifications all fail me. I am now a soldier of a state which spends more than three-fourths of its funds on war. But this cannot be a state at all. It must be a monster, like Hitler's and Stalin's, with some of the vestigial trappings of the state maintained by less than a fourth of the state's funds. And I am not an honorable soldier—I can imagine an honorable soldier, though I cannot imagine an honorable profession of arms—I am not an honorable soldier; I am a rear echelon soldier, pointing at those who pull the triggers I purchase and calling them killers.

I am the killer, and I am not happy about it; and all the more as killer because I say I don't want to be. I want to be extricated from this condition, but who is to extricate me? I want to oppose war, and I say I oppose war, but how can I oppose war and support war at the same time? I do not want to go to jail today and be released tomorrow when Ralph Waldo Emerson, having stuck his head into my cell and said, "Henry, what do you think you are doing," pays my taxes for me. I don't want to lose my liberty, my money, or my soul, but nobody has yet told me how to save all three. My justifications fail me.

Not An Easy Question

This is not an easy question for me. I am sure it is harder still for many others. The person who can afford to earn less than a taxable income has answered the question accidentally; or, rather, he has circumvented it. I cannot afford to earn less than a taxable income; the question is asked me, and I have got to answer it intentionally.

The question of tax-refusal is one—perhaps only one—of the questions that go to the heart of pacifism. It makes a pacifist a revolutionary. We have got to decide whether pacifists can be less than revolutionary and still be pacifists. And then we have got to decide, as practical people, how to proceed with the pacifist revolution.

It may mean nothing short of a new way of life. But if we are able to hold before us the insistent fact that the old ways of death are not good enough, we may be able to

make the effort. It may be that we can succeed short of a new way of life. A thousand, or ten thousand, or fifty thousand people refusing to go on killing via the tax method may save the old way; fewer than that were required to save Sodom. But if a new way of life is the condition of the revolution to which we are called, then we must find it in our hearts, and when we do that we will stop killing our fellowmen and, best of all, stop justifying our doing it.

Unfinished Assignment

THE POST-CPS STORY OF CO'S AND MENTAL HEALTH

By HAROLD BARTON

MANY unexpected developments have followed in the wake of the work of COs in mental institutions during World War II. Little did the Superintendent in Virginia expect, when he asked the Army for some "CO prisoners" for attendants at his hospital, that Civilian Public Service men would be responsible for his being fired as incompetent! In Cleveland, Ohio, too, a Superintendent was discharged for incompetency following CPS men's disclosures.

With such illustrations before us we might conclude that direct action was a planned and carefully prosecuted course for those who volunteered to serve in mental institutions. I feel certain that the reverse is true. I met few CPS men who served in this way who had any concept of a major job to be performed apart from the expected day-to-day service to patients. The developments set forth here were as unexpected by CPS men, generally, as by the incompetent Superintendents who, following disclosures of neglect of duty, became the target of the righteous indignation of citizens in the communities concerned. It was after arrival at hospitals and after the recovery from their first few weeks of ward work that the men of Civilian Public Service began to realize that their task was not completed when the ward work was done. It is not completed today.

A Testing Ground

For many COs in institutional work, concepts of pacifist living had not been tested by personal experience and prolonged practical application. Institutions provided a fruitful workshop.

The strange and tragic state of those confined to mental institutions challenged both the sympathy and the intellectual curiosity of those who volunteered to serve with the mentally ill. Most of the men came because of a strong urge to be of service to their suffering fellows. Once engaged in their duties, there came a further urge to study the meaning of the patient's plight. What was his condition and need? What brought him there? Could his malady

have been prevented? Could he be cured? Why must he endure such violence and hardship? Who was responsible? Increasingly the men came to feel the common guilt that underlies mental disorders. They recognized that the political and economic organization of our society contributes to the illness of many and permits the barbarous conditions of custodial care to exist. In a few instances the finger of responsibility could be pointed heavily toward administrative officials, but on the whole a common guilt was indicated.

A multiplicity of problems called for a multiple approach, and through the closing years of Civilian Public Service the form and substance of a permanent national program of action slowly evolved.

A Victory of Good Will

With an average educational background much more advanced than that of regular attendants, and with a fresh point of view and a desire to serve the patient, CPS men tended to be relatively understanding, patient and fearless. There were exceptions, of course, but generally these qualities made for success in personal relationships with the patients in mental hospitals and with the "children" in training schools for deficients. Long outmoded but still widely used methods of control were curtailed. On ward after ward a spirit of fear and violence gave way to one of greater ease and security for the patients.

At Philadelphia State Hospital a doctor stated that on the "violent" ward prior to the coming of the CPS unit, a week never went by without a patient being hospitalized in the infirmary because of a broken arm, leg, jaw, or nose, or other injury which he was certain came from attendant abuse. After the arrival of the unit members on this ward, he knew of no similar damage for two years—up to the time of his statement.

Those who carried their philosophy of concern and non-abuse to the fullest extent sometimes suffered attack and injury. Accumulated distrust stored up after long periods of attendant abuse could not be broken down overnight. To some patients, the white shirt and black tie of the attendant had become a symbol of violence and suffering.

Hundreds of acts of self-sacrifice and heroism performed by COs beyond the call of rules and instructions went unobserved and unreported, but the positive changes wrought in patients were noticed more often.

In one ward, at Columbus State Hospital (Ohio), the number of hours of patients held in cuff and strap (hand and foot) restraint was reduced to one one-hundredth of that prevailing when CPS men came on duty. Where sympathy and understanding ruled, force and fear, combat and injury, declined so far as to be all but nonexistent. Many mistakes were made by untrained or wrongly trained COs, but on the whole patients received more kindly and effective treatment as a result of the concern of unit members. Superintendents in Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Ohio and other states have said they never had "help as good."

Tragically enough, this contribution cannot be considered permanent. It is true that some regular employees received inspiration and courage by the example of COs, but the "lift" will be short-lived unless more adequate provision is made for the institutions than is now the case. Appropriations are generally too

small to prevent overcrowding, shortage of clothing and medical supplies, and submarginal wages that too often attract only the worst kind of ward workers. Under such conditions, the stoutest hearts tend to grow frustrated, and many desirable employees leave the institutions physically worn out and mentally despairing.

Four States Improve

While most states continue their niggardly and tragically inadequate appropriations, it is significant that Pennsylvania, where a special CPS-inspired educational program has been conducted, appropriated $82 million this year for much-needed buildings, and increased the maintenance allowance for operating mental institutions by $10 million for the current biennium. Reports issued by the National Mental Health Foundation, and based upon CPS experience, have brought increased legislative attention in Pennsylvania, Iowa, Virginia and New Jersey.

In general, then, a splendid short-term contribution was made to the improved care of patients. A much greater contribution has been made *possible* through the knowledge gained of the need and of the possibilities for making kindly and competent care available on a sustained basis. This contribution will come only as returned CPS men join in local efforts for adoption of the standards of care which were demonstrated to be the most effective hundreds of years ago in Europe and generally re-emphasized through the work of thousands of COs of World War II. Already organized efforts are producing results in a few states, but the need for a broadened and sustained effort is all too apparent.

Prophecy

"It will be interesting to see what effect a large number of COs have on the situation in years to come. Many COs are well equipped, some with graduate school training, and they are alert, sensitive and eager to serve. It will be surprising if they do not register powerfully in this mental hospital situation before they get through cashing in on their experiences at the conclusion of the war."

—Frank Olmstead, in "They Asked for a Hard Job," Fellowship, November, 1943.

Attendant Professionalization

The Attendant magazine, product of off-time activity of CPS men in mental institutions, has grown up under the careful tutelage of Methodist CPSman Phil Steer. It has become accepted as recommended training material in all Veterans' and Army training centers for the attendant group. It has served from Hawaii to the fighting fronts of Europe. Now, as *The Psychiatric Aide*, it has widespread international circulation to private, city, county, state, and federal institutions and has provoked England to consider a similar organ for its institutional employees. An editorial a year ago precipitated the organization of the first professional group of attendants, in the State of Washington. Now it is the official organ for two such independent groups, with the promise of a useful and expanding future.

The Handbook for Psychiatric

Aides, CPS-produced and edited by YMCA Executive Frank L. Wright, Jr., is approaching the 10,000-mark in circulation. It has been reprinted in Spanish and continues to serve not only regular attendants, but ministers, students, relatives of mental patients, and others. The publication, promotion, and use of these two training aids has done more to publicize the importance of the attendant and to help him do his work effectively than any other development in decades.

Professional Education

A medical student in the early 1930's was told in a course in psychiatry of the good work accomplished by Clifford Beers in stimulating reforms in the treatment of the mentally ill. He was led to believe that essentially all was well with modern institutional care. But in May, 1946 this doctor received a major shock: the CPS-inspired *Life* article revealed the generally sad plight of the mentally ill wards of states and inspired a new attack on the problem. Just as CO Bob Hegler's exposé of conditions at the Lyons (N. J.) Veterans Hospital started a cleanup of veterans hospitals throughout the country, so the *Life* article precipitated new interest and action on behalf of state wards.

At first there were denials and claims of exaggeration from many professional people, and it was months before the smoke of cross-accusations cleared enough to take stock. Then it was found that professional persons, having investigated on their own and with the aid of the press, rallied slowly, and then more rapidly to the cause of widespread reform. Hundreds of uninformed doctors, kept in ignorance by their political-minded and aloof brothers in the profession, rallied to press for a revitalization of the professional role in social progress. Today a progressive group, led by dauntless Doctor William Menninger of Army and Topeka, Kansas, fame, has taken the reins of the American Psychiatric Association and promises a forthright attack on the mutual failure of psychiatry and society in the care of the mentally ill. Another professionally dominated organization, the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, has thrown a field staff—ex-CPSmen Reese and Corfman—into the field to do much-needed lay education and organization.

Today, the National Mental Health Foundation, 1520 Race Street, Philadelphia 2, maintains a staff of twenty persons, half of them CPS men, to carry on the work begun in 1942 by the first units in mental institutions. Its membership is open to all on a democratic basis—and its invitation is to an assignment unfinished.

For Further Reading

Out of Sight, Out of Mind, by Frank L. Wright, Jr. The story of what the COs found in mental hospitals across the country. ($1)

What to Look for in a Mental Hospital. (5c)

What to Look for in a State Training School for the Feeble-Minded. (8c)

Forgotten Children, edited by Grant M. Stoltzfus. The story of the feebleminded, and a suggested program for their care. (20c)

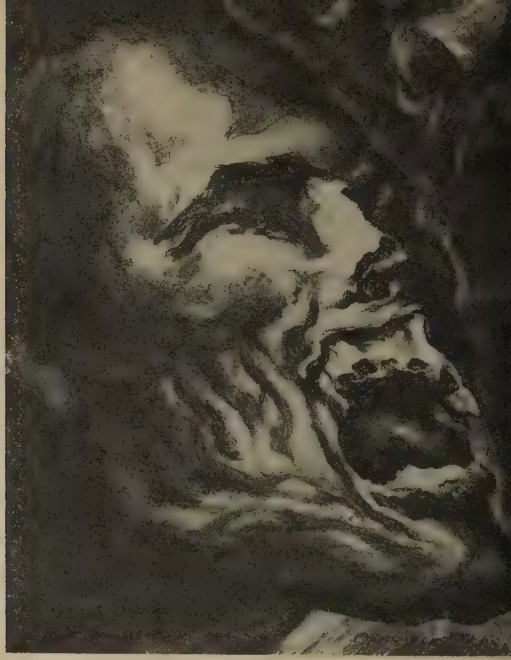
Grief

Nine Lithographs by
LOUIS FREUND

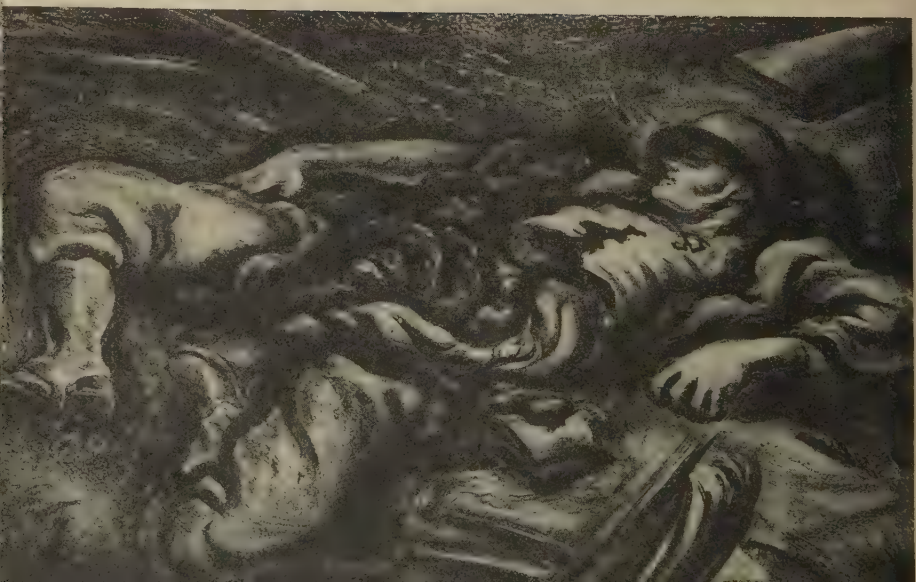
Descent from the Cross

Kill or Be Killed

Hiroshima



Laugh of Death



The Power and the Glory

Madonna and Child

The Shape of Things to Come

A Meditation on Brotherhood

As I recall my boyhood, I do not remember many times when we three mischievous boys succeeded in fooling our father. In fact, father often boasted that we could not fool him, since he himself had been a boy.

The central dogma of modern education is that we learn by doing. The place to learn to swim is overboard. In no one of the professions does a man find himself until he has practiced it for a few years. The place to learn about life is *out there.*

For others' follies teach us not,
Nor much their wisdom teaches;
And, of sterling worth, is what
Our own experience preaches.

Life, and especially the Christian life, should be regarded more as a learning process: "Take my yoke upon you and learn of me." What is called the Sermon on the Mount was not so much a sermon to be "enjoyed" as a lesson to be mastered. "He opened his mouth and taught them." We do well to ask ourselves whether each year is leaving its solid deposit of truth and wisdom. Nearly everybody speaks slightingly of an old fool. For an old man's folly there can be little excuse.

Our failure will be grievous indeed if we do not succeed in extracting from the ups and downs of our generation a lesson in brotherhood. Was it not John Donne who spoke of this world as a burning ship at sea from which there can be no escape but drowning? And most of what ails us, when seen under sharp focus, goes back to our failure to treat one another as brothers. When will we ever learn, out of the travail and tears of the ages, that every man should count for one and no man for more than one? Forty years before Pearl Harbor William Howard Taft referred to the Oriental as the "little brown brother." Some newspaper wag expressed the common reaction of Americans in these words:

He may be a brother to Big Bill Taft
But he ain't no brother of mine.

One may well ask whether there is any connection between that kind of drivel and the blind fury that took such complete possession of the Japanese people a few years ago.

There is no more tragic waste than wasted suffering. We have twice gone to war on a world-wide scale, but has all this struggle brought us to understand that fellowship is heaven and the lack of fellowship is hell? Is our experience teaching us anything at all?

The Lord God Almighty knows that if ever a people should have learned from their sufferings, it is the American Negro people. Does the suffering of the Negro in the United States broaden his compassion for the weak and the helpless everywhere, causing him to rejoice with them that rejoice and to weep with them that weep? One wonders. The present rulers of the Republic of Liberia are descended from ancestors who in their time were mocked and tortured. Is that govern-

ment more benevolent because it came out of agony and tears? One wonders.

An American Negro traveled widely in South America last summer and was greatly pleased to discover in most of the places visited a complete absence of discrimination based on color. There was a cordial reception at hotel desks and, in numerous cases, in the homes of men and women of culture and privilege. But in Caracas, the capital of Venezuela, there was a new experience. New, that is, for this trip. It was, in fact, familiar enough to make the wanderer feel that by some accident the journey had been shortened, terminating not in the capital of a Republic widely known for its liberal attitude on race, but in some North American city where racial prejudice is taken for granted. The clerk hesitated, calling the manager, who explained that there were no vacancies. Of course, he explained, he was very sorry. The traveler had no choice but to look elsewhere for a night's lodging. But further investigation revealed that the reservation had been made and confirmed, that there were vacant rooms when the dark traveler appeared at the desk, and that the courteous manager of the hotel was a refugee from Hitler's racial arrogance. Is our suffering largely wasted?

Everybody has heard of the teacher of history who was called before the local school board to defend his liberal views. It was said that he had been corrupting the young people. Guilty or not, the board had its way and got rid of this dangerous person whose views were subversive. Just before he left the meeting he said this: "The sad thing about the teaching of history is that we must go on teaching history, but we must never allow history to teach us."

Suggested Reading for Lent

CHRISTIAN PERFECTION
Fenelon $1.75

A GUIDE TO TRUE PEACE
Fenelon, Guyon, Molinos $1.00

THERE IS A SPIRIT
The Boulding Sonnets $1.00

THE LIGHT OF CHRIST
Evelyn Underhill $1.75

MEDITATIONS PERSONAL AND SOCIAL
James Myers $ .15

CHRISTIANITY AND CIVILIZATION
Arnold Toynbee $ .25

CELLS FOR PEACE
Douglas Steere $ .10

Send Books to Europe

Enlist in the FOR Gift Literature Program. Send for a descriptive folder today.

FELLOWSHIP PUBLICATIONS
2929 Broadway
New York 25, N. Y.

Letter from PAKISTAN

Here are the refugees, at our door. Thousands parked along our streets, in the field opposite our house, little family groups huddled together with the few things they were able to save when they fled for their lives—perhaps a pot or two, an old quilt, a kerosene tin to carry water in. They have no shelter, scant clothing, little food. And it is *cold.* We shiver indoors in sweaters and coats or under woolen blankets, but they are out there. Many are dying daily of pneumonia, dysentery, exhaustion. New graveyards are everywhere, holes dug for the bodies of those who have died during the night.

Yet we have no supplies with which to help, save to dole out bits of our own food and clothing. There is a Christian Relief Committee and a Friends' Service Unit in Lahore, who are doing excellent work, but none of their supplies reach these more distant spots.

We daily deny the faith we profess. We have enough food for ourselves and our two children, enough clothing to keep warm, even enough to allow changes for keeping clean. Oranges, though scarce, are available for a price. If we should stop giving juice to our children, we could give more wheat to other children who are starving. If we should give away another sweater, some shivering child would be warm. If we should cancel that magazine subscription, we could give the money to someone who is destitute.

There are subtler problems of personal pacifist living. Knowing the prevalence of dysentery and cholera, we are tempted to sharp words when our hedge, where our two-year-old enjoys playing, is repeatedly used as a latrine. We are grateful that we can at least give water, yet we do get irritated when the pump, our one source of drinking water, is mistreated by those coming to use it, and the surrounding area left dirty.

FELLOWSHIP keeps us aware, informed, conscious of what we should be yet constantly fail to be. In addition, it makes us realize that, weak as we are, we are part of a Fellowship of Reconcilers, many of whom are strong witnesses to our common faith.

—MARVIN AND MARY KEISLAR

P.S. TWO WEEKS LATER

A Friends' Service Unit has come to Khanewal with large supplies of powdered milk and medicines, because word had reached them in Lahore of the particularly desperate conditions here. Their arrival will mean life instead of death to many. *Your* sacrificial giving there at home has made this possible. Thanks to *you,* those who cry for food for their hungry children or medicine for their sick will now receive that help which but a few days ago seemed so impossible to obtain.

Timely—

THEY SAW GANDHI

By John S. Hoyland

The story of the Mahatma's life—the how and why of his fasts—seen through the eyes of those who were with him. Introduction by JOHN HAYNES HOLMES. A Fellowship book. $1.75.

News from the Peace Front

College Presidents Oppose UMT

On January 14 the Association of American Colleges voted overwhelmingly against any form of compulsory universal military training. The vote was 219 to 69 against UMT in this influential group representing 700 liberal arts institutions.

The conference had heard an urgent appeal by Dr. Harold Dodds, president of Princeton University and a member of the President's Commission on UMT, for the endorsement of conscription. Dodds declared that the U.S. needs UMT to fulfil its United Nations function, and declared that it would give youth an opportunity to adjust to a soldier's life, fit him for further training, facilitate classification in the event of war, and was the only means of building up the National Guard and Organized Reserve as it should be built up.

Presenting the opposite viewpoint, Dr. Alexander Guerry, president of the University of the South, said that UMT would be ineffective and inadequate for national defense; that it would change the character of the American people and the nature of this country; that the Federal Government and the military would extend their control and gradually take away all freedom; and that the arguments advanced in favor of UMT were wrong and misleading.

In the debate following the two statements many of the college presidents urged greater reliance on the U.N., and some said that UMT in this country would set a pattern for a world armament race that could only end in war.

The Association unanimously adopted a seven-point program advocating adequate defense for the U.S., but reduction of armaments as circumstances permit, "a constant declaration of our desire to live at peace with other countries," and everlasting effort to build an effective federation of nations to end war and aggression.

CO Sentenced, Then Pardoned

Claire E. Street, FOR member, Quaker and CO, was sentenced on November 25, 1947 to 18 months' imprisonment for refusing to report for induction into the Army in September 1946. Street, a student at William Penn College, Oskaloosa, Iowa, was sentenced by Judge Charles Dewey of the Federal Court at Des Moines.

Street was pardoned by the President's Amnesty Board on December 24.

Robert Lowell, pacifist who won the 1947 Pulitzer Prize for poetry with his book *Lord Weary's Castle*, has been appointed consultant in poetry in English at the Library of Congress, succeeding Karl Shapiro. This year Mr. Lowell also received a grant from the National Institute of Arts and Letters and a Guggenheim Fellowship.

In December, 1947, 5,242 men applied for jobs with New York City as laborers at $35 a week. There were only 1,600 jobs open.

Gandhi's Fast Brings Peace Pledges

Mohandas K. Gandhi, frail and shrivelled, emerged triumphant from a fast of 122 hours, when he received pledges of peace in India from Hindu, Moslem and Sikh leaders. He also received a peace pledge signed by 200,000 people in Delhi, and pledges from about forty leaders of various communities.

In riot-ridden Bombay, when the end of the fast was announced, peace processions of some 300,000 persons were held, in which Communists and Socialists, Hindus and Moslems, subordinated old animosities and embraced in amity.

Hindu and Sikh leaders gathered about Gandhi's bed to give in a tense ceremony the pledge which made it possible for him to end his fast. They agreed to a seven-point peace program in which they would restore Moslem mosques which had been converted into Hindu temples, make it safe for Moslems on railroads and in the cities from which they had fled, and lift the economic boycott against Moslems.

Warn Against Militarization Here

With a warning that "America cannot remain democratic if the present trend toward military control of our institutions continues," Professor Albert Einstein, Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, Chancellor of Stanford University, Edwin T. Dahlberg, President of the Northern Baptist Convention, and 18 other prominent people broke into the newspapers on January 19. Released in conjunction with a 32-page booklet entitled "The Militarization of America," by the National Council Against Conscription, the statement received widespread and prominent attention in the press.

The report said, in connection with UMT, that "The Army is planning for even greater military control over the American people," and declared that "Militarism leads both to war and loss of freedom." It extensively documented the charge that military men are moving into key positions in Government, and mentioned widespread military control of scientific research.

The report pointed to military influence in schools and over the Boy Scouts, and charged that the Army maintains an extensive lobby in Washington, quoting Congressmen who have investigated it.

FOR Annual Conferences

The FOR National Conference this year will be decentralized somewhat. A western conference will be held at Estes Park, Colorado, lasting from Tuesday, August 31 through Sunday, September 5, and an eastern one somewhere in Pennsylvania, New Jersey or New York, from Tuesday, August 24, through Sunday, August 29.

Negro Churches To Be Rebuilt

The two Negro churches in Monroe, Georgia, which were burned not long ago, will be rebuilt by contributions from Walton County white people, headed by C. W. Sherlock, president of the Monroe-Walton County Chamber of Commerce, if enough funds can be raised.

The Negro school, burned at the same time, is to be replaced by the Board of Education.

Loyalty Board Yields to FBI Secrecy Demands

A new Loyalty Review Board has been set up by President Truman to screen men and women who have or want jobs with the Government. Its chairman, Seth W. Richardson, says he doesn't think disloyalty is rampant in the government and "hates witch hunts." When this is said, however, there is very little else to be advanced in favor of the federal purge now going on.

About a year ago liberal papers began publicizing the dismissals of federal employees who were called "bad security risks," and who were not allowed to confront or to know their accusers, or even of what they were accused. Widespread protests resulted in concessions in a few cases —instead of being fired some were allowed to "resign," but it will be known under what circumstances these "resignations" took place. A Loyalty commission was set up with Assistant Attorney General A. Devitt Vanech as chairman, who based his policy on the premise that "Government employment is not a right but a privilege."

At the end of 1947 the commission was transformed into the Loyalty Review Board, which Richardson heads, and which is the last court of appeal for those accused. The most powerful force in the picture, however, is the FBI. It is on its reports that the Board will base its decisions. If the FBI does not wish, for "security" reasons, to reveal the sources of its information even to the Board, it does not have to. It need not tell the Board who the accuser is, or let the Board examine him. It was only on these conditions that the FBI agreed to cooperate at all.

As one reporter commented, "The self-destroying atmosphere of distrust has gone so far that the FBI is not required to trust the President's Loyalty Review Board."

Amnesty Board Pardons Create Ironic Contrasts

The action of the President's Amnesty Board in granting pardons to certain specific individuals has resulted in some very ironic contrasts.

The eight Union Seminary students who refused to register in the first draft of 1940 were divided, two receiving pardons, the other six not. A Brethren minister who refused to serve in CPS was pardoned, but not other ministers, or rabbis.

(Of the FOR National and Regional staff, a pardon was received by Carl Nocke, but none by George Houser, Bayard Rustin, Glenn Smiley or Alfred Hassler.)

The rights which are restored by amnesty or pardon depend on the laws of the different states. Conviction of a violation of the federal Selective Service Act may mean the loss of the right to vote in either federal, state or local elections, or the right to hold office; may make a man ineligible for civil service jobs; may mean exclusion from the legal, medical, dental and other professions.

COs can find out whether or not they were pardoned by referring to the *Federal Register* for December 24, 1947, in a library, or by writing for a copy of it to the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C. Since becoming President, Truman has pardoned fifteen members of the Missouri Pendergast machine, who were convicted of vote fraud. Seventeen more pardon petitions are pending before him from this group.

Journey Trial Delayed Again

On December 9 four of the Journey of Reconciliation members, Igal Roodenko, Andrew Johnson, Joseph Felmet and Bayard Rustin, appeared at Orange County Court in Hillsboro, North Carolina, before the Superior Court of that state, to which their cases had been appealed. The Judge was told by Prosecutor William Murdock that the bus driver was ill with appendicitis, the assistant prosecutor was busy in Supreme Court, and the defense attorneys had been unable to reach the Trailways bus ticket agencies to serve a subpoena. The cases were postponed until March 15, 1948.

There were two Negroes on the petit jury and one on the grand jury, possibly because authorities knew the defendants intended to raise the question of systematic exclusion of Negroes from jury duty. It was the first time since the Reconstruction period that Negroes had sat on a jury in Orange County.

Marine "Replacements" Armed for Real War

Announced officially by the Navy as a routine move to bring the personnel of its warships in the Mediterranean up to full strength, the embarkation of almost 1,000 Marines on January 5 turned out be something more significant. Newspapermen, accepting the Navy's word that the shipment was routine, found the Marines carrying regular combat equipment, and accompanied by jeeps, tanks, flame-throwers, bulldozers and heavy weapons. Warships do not have facilities for carrying such equipment, which indicated that the Marines might be kept aboard the transports on which they were shipped. Some of the men are combat veterans of the Pacific campaign and the shipments were "clearly tactical units . . . not shipboard detachments," according to Hanson Baldwin, military analyst of *The New York Times*. Baldwin said that, with the Marine force already aboard ship in the Mediterranean, the new shipment, and the naval personnel available, the United States in a few days could put 3,000 to 4,000 men ashore in Greece or elsewhere in the Mediterranean, fully supported by about 130 planes, three modern light cruisers, and ten destroyers.

When asked, the State Department stated that it had not been consulted by the Navy in the matter, and said it must be too unimportant, and purely routine. If it is true that the State Department was not consulted, Baldwin said, then the State Department is obviously losing control of American foreign policy.

Washington Group Attacks "Y" Discrimination Again

The Interracial Workshop in Washington, D. C., is protesting the recent action of the Board of the YMCA there affirming its policy of refusal to serve Negroes in the YMCA Coffee Shop. The Coffee Shop was the scene of a prolonged and dramatic non-violent campaign last summer by an Interracial Workshop sponsored by the FOR and led by George Houser and Bayard Rustin, as a result of which the Workshop has become a permanent, continuing organization. In contrast to the policy of the YM, the YWCA in Washington serves all comers in its dining-room.

Jottings

The new constitution of Greater Hesse, in the U. S. Zone of Germany, prohibits any act tending toward the preparation for war. South Baden, in the French Zone, has incorporated in its constitution a clause stating: "No citizen of the State may be obliged to any service of military character."

* * *

Twenty-one countries, including Soviet Russia, and three states in the United States, have abolished the death penalty.

* * *

The Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that a family of four living in New York City, which in March 1946 needed $55 a week for an adequate standard of living, in June 1947 required an absolute minimum of $71 a week. Living costs have increased 10 per cent since June, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

* * *

Vic and Mary Lou Goff, FOR members working with college students, are looking for short stories demonstrating successful application of non-violence in family, racial, economic or war conflict situations. Please send titles of stories and where they can be found to the Goffs at 2624 College Avenue, Berkeley, California.

* * *

New Jersey voters at a recent election made their state the first whose constitution specifically prohibits segregation in its public schools and militia and prohibits denial of civil rights on account of religious principles, race, color, ancestry, or national origin.

Friends of Grete Sumpf will be glad to hear that she has at last received the necessary permits and has gone to Switzerland for a rest cure. The many people who have been sending her parcels may at this time send them either to Agnes M. Edelmann, Strausstr. 3, Dresden, Germany, (Russian Zone), or to Dr. Jacob Kobberling, Evangelic Hospital, Holzminden, Germany, (British Zone), for his hospital.

* * *

When polled by the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Denver, the people of the United States, almost 2 to 1, said they could think of nothing they personally could do to help prevent another war.

* * *

The House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church unanimously adopted a resolution against "hysterical fear of communism," and condemned as a threat to freedom of conscience the inquisitorial investigation of men's personal beliefs and casting of public suspicion on them under the protection of Congressional immunity.

* * *

"If Southern Protestantism tries to hold to its position of segregation, it will be so outflanked that moral initiative will be taken away from this hemisphere for the next 100 years," predicted Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University. Dr. Johnson also predicted that racial segregation in universities of the South will be breached within the next ten years.

Bigger Greek Army Approved by U. S.

On the same day that battle-equipped Marines were sent to the Mediterranean, Premier Themistocles Sophoulis of Greece announced that the United States had agreed to increases in the size of the Greek Army and National Guard. The Army is to be augmented by 12,000 men, and the Guard brought up to 50,000. The U.S. has given six gunboats to the Greek Navy.

As a result of this, $15 million more of the money voted by Congress for Greek reconstruction under the Truman Doctrine has been shifted from reconstruction to the support of Greek troops, making $175 million to be spent for troops and $125 million for economic measures. In addition, it now appears that Greece is to receive special status under the Marshall Plan, which runs up to June 30, 1951.

On January 13 the President presented his annual budget to Congress, of which 79% represented the costs of past and future wars.

FOR member interested in obtaining small (maybe abandoned type) farm in New England preferably So. Vt., So. N.H. or No. Mass. Fellowship Box 17.

Two children sought for adoption by FOR couple. Preferably under five years. Northeastern states area. Excellent references furnished. Please send information to Box K 2.

Read "PLANNING FOR WORLD PEACE," an interesting booklet concerning us—all to take part in it. Send fifty cents for your copy. Address Emil C. Hasenauer, Hayes Center, Neb.

Holmes Japan Permit Revoked

Dr. John Haynes Holmes, minister of Community Church in New York, whose column appeared monthly on the inside front cover of FELLOWSHIP until he left to lecture in India last fall, had his military permit to visit Japan, granted by General MacArthur, revoked by the State Department. General MacArthur said the State and Army Departments had acted without consulting him, and apparently their action was taken as a result of a speech Holmes made in India.

The State Department said it had reports of "unfortunate" remarks and passed them on to the Army Department. Subsequently the permit was restored, but by that time Holmes was already in Hawaii on the trip home.

Legion Reverses Stand; Favors DP Admission

The drive for legislation to admit 400,000 Displaced Persons to this country received added impetus recently when the American Legion, which had previously opposed it, reversed its stand. After hearing the report of its recently superseded National Commander Paul Griffith, who made a two-month tour of Europe, the Legion's Executive Committee declared in favor of entry of America's fair share of DPs. At their national conventions this fall the AFL and CIO also both unanimously favored such legislation.

FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Emerson Schwenk, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill; *Northwest:* Mary Farquharson, 1406 East 40th Street, Seattle 5, Wash.; *Northern California:* Orval Etter, 1941 Oregon Street, Berkeley 3, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, Room 310, 127 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 12, Cal.

Attempt to Force Vote on UMT

In an effort to force the Republican leadership to allow the bill for UMT to come before the House, Representative Henry D. Larcade, Jr., (D., La.) filed a petition seeking to bring the bill out of the Rules Committee, where it has been ever since it was hastily reported out of the House Armed Services Committee last July, just before adjournment.

The Rules Committee is deadlocked on this question, with the tie in voting broken by the Chairman in favor of keeping it in Committee. If, however, any one of the Committee members who oppose reporting it out should be absent, the tie would be broken in favor of reporting the bill out for voting by the House.

On the other hand, top Senate leader Robert A. Taft is opposed to UMT, and 1948 is an election year, so that Congressmen are reluctant to put themselves on record on controversial issues through which they may lose votes.

Newsmen Praise Anti-UMT Letter

Stimulated by a visit from John Swomley, and by the Northern California Committee Against UMT, Californians succeeded in getting anti-UMT letters into a number of newspapers, among them the strongly pro-UMT *San Francisco News*. One writer received several responses, one on the letterhead of the *News* itself, stating simply "Congratulations on your letter in Friday's *News*," and signed "Several members of the *News* staff."

Britain Adopts Draft of Labor

Great Britain has broken tradition and begun a peacetime labor draft, the first in its history. On January 6 men in certain categories of "unessential" jobs, such as peddlers, newsboys, and sidewalk photographers, were required to register at the government labor exchanges, and if they are thought suitable may be assigned to essential jobs. In this category alone, it is estimated that there are 20,000 men.

In the latter part of January all men 18 to 25 and all women 18 to 21 who were not gainfully employed at least 30 hours a week were required to register, and other age groups will follow later.

A choice of jobs available will be open, probably farm work, coal mining or textile factory work, and any who refuse to take such jobs may be fined or sent to prison.

Poling Challenged

Clergymen of Springfield, Mass., have threatened to urge their young people not to attend a rally at which Dr. Daniel Poling, ardent pro-UMT minister, will speak, unless one of their number is allowed to refute him. It is not known just what Dr. Poling will talk on, his subject being "Life's Irreducible Minimum," but most of the ministers in Springfield are against UMT and want their position presented.

The Gallup Poll, which for the past two years has showed pro-UMT sentiment rising from something over 50% to 75%, has announced a recent decline from 75% to 65%.

Washington and California Workshops Scheduled

The Racial-Industrial Department of the FOR and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) will sponsor two interracial workshops during July 1948, one in Washington, D. C., and one in the Los Angeles area. The projects will combine an interracial non-violent action program of combating discrimination, a study of the race problem and ways to meet it, and the experience of group living and fellowship.

The Washington Workshop, led by Bayard Rustin, will challenge discrimination in theaters, schools, restaurants, jobs, housing, and other places, following up the dramatic Workshop held in the capital last year.

The Southern California Workshop will be led by George Houser, and will challenge segregation and discrimination in an area where racial tensions have been greatly aggravated by the influx of Negroes into defense plants during the war.

Anti-UMT Rally

After going to court for permission to hold an anti-conscription rally in Independence Square in Philadelphia, anti-conscription forces in that city were balked by the weather, which was bitterly cold and windy, and discouraged all but about 300 hardy souls from turning out.

Independence Square had been restricted to public meetings previously, a 1913 city ordinance forbidding all but "patriotic meetings to celebrate some event in the history of the Nation, State or City." When the Philadelphia Youth Council to Oppose Conscription applied for permission to hold the rally on Saturday, January 10, it was refused. The Youth Council therefore applied for a restraining order to prohibit the city from interfering with the rally, and received it on Tuesday from U.S. District Judge William H. Kirkpatrick, who ruled at the same time that the ordinance was unconstitutional.

Speakers representing the church, labor, education, the Negro, veterans, science and law spoke against UMT, and the rally was held without incident, in spite of rumors which had circulated beforehand that it might be broken up by pro-UMT groups. A rally by the Progressive Citizens of America on November 1 in the Square in connection with the House investigation of pro-Communist screen activities was broken up by American Legion and other elements, who heckled, sang, threw pebbles, and war-danced through the crowd.

Sponsoring organizations of the UMT rally were the Youth Council, Greater Philadelphia Committee to Oppose Conscription, Philadelphia Chapter of the Women's International League, Philadelphia Circle of the Young People's Socialist League, Philadelphia FOR, Philadelphia Young Friends Movement, Eastern Pennsylvania Chapter of the Progressive Citizens of America, and the Young Progressive Citizens of America.

Wallace Opposes UMT

Henry A. Wallace, who in December announced his candidacy for President on a third-party ticket, shortly thereafter reiterated his stand against Universal Military Training. In a statement issued January 6, he called it "the decisive step in the conditioning of the American people to the inevitability and imminence of war."

Books

The Wrong War

War Is No Damn Good, by R. Osborn. Doubleday, 1946. 90 pp. $2.00.

The war R. Osborn fought was one of bitterness, irony, ineptitude. Of military-witted generals pinning medals on each other. Of stuffed shirts, egotistical heroes, red tape, and confusion. To express his disgust, as a civilian in such a war, R. Osborn has put together some ninety cartoons bitter enough to tickle the sense of outrage we all felt, and pointed enough, presumably, to give a feeling of gratification to veterans who experienced first-hand the outrageous conditions depicted.

But perhaps, even while granting justification for the shrillness of his protest, some readers may be uncomfortable about the intensity, coupled with the aimlessness, of his book. Maybe Osborn fought—and is still fighting—the wrong war.

Bemedalled officers *do* look ridiculous; but many of them were heroic, honest, humble, intelligent—and wholeheartedly engaged in a project they believed of the very first importance. Osborn apparently believed so too. They ordered Osborn—who was a service man in the last war and apparently would be so again—around; and he obeyed the orders. The results of this military project he pictures devastatingly. But he apparently is headed toward nothing except stronger feelings, more ironic perception, and bitterer reactions, if there should be a next time.

Osborn's book is a squawk of protest. It is a reaction against the kind of cops-and-robbers life accepted as necessary for national preservation. The author, however, appears to be a veteran of only the shooting kind of war.

Can such acute depictions of shooting war enable us to see where the real battle lies? Maybe. We can hope so. Osborn does make sharp use of his disgust, and he does say in his introduction that " . . . the causes of war exist in every one of us." But he hastens to add: "This book doesn't say we must never fight again, because if we let things drift we certainly will have to fight again."

Wait a minute, Osborn! Come on down with us into Macedonia. We have a different kind of war to fight. Mr. D. Eisenhower and Mr. R. Osborn are needed. *General* Eisenhower and *Commissioned Officer* Osborn? Never heard of them.

—William E. Stafford

Indians' United Nations

The White Roots of Peace, by Paul A. Wallace. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1946. $2.00.

That a number of "savage" Indian nations, once persuaded to go on the peacepath, stamped out a pattern for a United Nations, is both a rebuke and an incentive for our scared civilization. This graceful small book blends the three legendary versions that come down to us, through dim aisles of time, of the Iroquois con-

federacy of five Indian nations. The study opens and ends with two striking pages that quote lines from the United Nations Constitution of 1945, beside lines from the constitution formed by the Indian United Nations of 1450.

The legends center on the Indian leader, Deganawidah, and his helper, Hiawatha, who carried the Message of Peace and Power that brought together the five tribes under one sovereign law. The book's title refers to the Tree of Peace which Deganawidah symbolically planted at the meeting where the federation was organized.

Typical of the charming folklore scattered through the scholarly comment here, is an incident that pacifists will particularly enjoy. It's about Deganawidah's visit to a stranger whose neighbors shudderingly described him as "a man who eats humans." Before introducing himself to the man, Deganawidah prudently crawled on to his roof, and peeped through a hole, as the cannibal prepared to plunk a human morsel into a kettle of water.

The man saw Deganawidah's face reflected in the water, and thought he was seeing himself. He exclaimed, "I didn't know I was like that. . . . It is my own face in which I see wisdom and righteousness and strength. But it is not the face of a man who eats humans. I see it is not like me to do that."

He dumped out the kettle, and Deganawidah then chose to appear. He christened the repentant cannibal "Hiawatha" and they went on together, spreading their vision of peace through the New York forests.

Ironically, the long calm of the confederacy they created was first broken by Jesuit missionaries, who came to America with guns and gospel. When "civilization" arrived, the wild idea that nations can live in peace under one overarching law glimmered out. But for a time, the Indians brought to reality Deganawidah's promise, "the land shall be beautiful, the river shall have no more waves, one may go everywhere without fear." Folklore? Perhaps. But in it may be truth, as well as poetry. —ELISABETH D. DODDS

Civil Rights in America

To Secure These Rights. Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947. 178 pages. $1.00.

The report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights has rightfully been hailed as one of the most significant documents to be issued from a government source in years. Very few expected as frank an indictment of the denial of civil rights to certain Americans as is given in the Report, or as uncompromising proposals for amending the situation. The Report may profitably be read for the sole purpose of getting the boiled-down facts about lynching, about the right to vote, the right to hold property, the right to a job, the right to the use of public facilities—rights denied American citizens because of their race or creed.

The Report condemns race segregation and discrimination in no uncertain language. It says that "segregation is wrong morally and practically," and one of its general recommendations is "the elimination of segregation based on race, color, creed, or national origin, from American life." Several pages in the report point out the terrible conditions of racial segregation existing in the nation's capital, and conclude by calling a continuance of this situation "intolerable."

The recommendations made by the Committee are drastic enough to help meet the sickness described in the bulk of the Report. A strengthening of the Civil Rights section of the Department of Justice is recommended. The establishment of a permanent Commission on Civil Rights in the office of the President is asked for. State and federal legislation is recommended to do away with lynching and the poll tax, and to set up an FEPC. A majority recommendation of the Committee was that no federal grants to education should be given to states or private concerns whose schools practice segregation.

One might have hoped that the Report would say something about the denial of rights of conscientious objectors to war, and recommendations for absolute recognition of conscience, but I guess you can't have everything.

—George M. Houser

Decentralist's Handbook

Flight from the City, by Ralph Borsodi. Third Edition. School of Living Press, Suffern, N. Y. 1947. 133 pp. $2.75.

Here is the factual account of how the Borsodi family moved from New York City in 1920 to develop a productive acreage, and what this shift meant to them in terms of economic security through the depression of the Thirties. Mr. Borsodi discusses the full implications of what such a shift could mean for the betterment of our society if a large proportion of Americans developed family homesteads.

An investigation of Mr. Borsodi's penetrating philosophy reveals that the family should be the focal point of society. Our technology should be adapted to fill its needs, our accumulation of knowledge should be integrated and utilized on the family level.

Flight from the City will help those seeking an alternative to urban materialism. It is a round-the-clock approach to fuller, richer living. It is for those who suspect that society's ills are rooted in individual and family disintegration and that we must begin at the bottom in order to rebuild soundly.

—Delores W. Hamilton

A Christian's Work

Christian Faith And My Job, by Alexander Miller. Association Press, New York, 1946. 60 pp. $1.00.

This New Zealand leader in the World Student Christian Movement believes a person's job is his primary field for social action. He doubts that church and social work vocations are the most important in serving God's purposes in the world because ". . . the only real outreach the Church has into the secular order is through the work of Christian men and women in their *secular* jobs."

Miller does a fine job of portraying the ethical issues which arise in factories, farms, unions, professions, and in the kitchens (a word to housewives) which wait for creative Christian analysis and action. Miller emphasizes the role of the small group in making job decisions and in acting through job situations.

—Sheldon Rahn

THE FREUND LITHOGRAPHS

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Letters

Pro Willard Baer . . .

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I, too, no longer contribute to the Fellowship for the very same reasons expressed in the letter of Willard A. Baer in the December issue.

Subheads and Jottings have lost their punch, interest . . . effectiveness. They both are so obvious in a routine fashion, dreary and dull.

I've enjoyed Vera Brittain's letters and an occasional article.

It seems to me that FELLOWSHIP has lost clearheaded leadership.

ELINOR ULMAN WALSH
Miami, Florida

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I find the letter from Willard A. Baer very challenging. For years I have felt a lack in FOR but could not define it; finally, for myself, I decided you stressed material (physical) effort on the one hand, and denied it on the other.

Knowing the difficulty of the road we tread, might I suggest that for the coming year FOR stress working with God? That every motive start with Him and prayer groups be formed to invite His Presence and His Power? I've sat in many discussion groups where the ideas were good but not connected with Power. There may be other connections with Power than meditation and prayer but it is *not* discussion.

MRS. G. W. HURLBURT
Gordonsville, Virginia

. . . and Con

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Willard Baer's letter in the December '47 issue reveals his complete lack of knowledge of the social forces which give rise to conflict.

THOMAS F. HOULT
Downey, California

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I have just read in the December Readers Comment section of FELLOWSHIP a communication from an obviously discontented Floridian Baer. It is easy to see why Mr. Baer is making a "clean break" with the FOR. What puzzles me is how he ever got himself involved in the first place.

I would have written a letter instead of this postcard to say this except that Mr. Baer's enthusiasm for the individual has captivated me and I feel that I must decrease by two-thirds my support of that nasty socialistic institution known as the U. S. Postal System.

DOYT B. HAMILTON
New York City

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More on Taxes

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Ernest R. Bromley implies in his November FELLOWSHIP article that the confiscation and destruction by colonial mobs of tea being imported by the London Trading Company, was commendable. As I understand it, a study of that historic episode indicates that the real issue was competition. The smuggling colonial merchants were opposed to the English traders, and used violent means to thwart them. The Boston tea dealers were the chief offenders.

The taxation to which the colonists objected was to pay for the support of an army, for which they had appealed to the Crown, to protect them from the French and, especially, from the indigenous redskins who were pathetically trying to drive the armed invading colonists from their ancestral homeland.

LOUIS OBED RENNE
Menlo Park, Calif.

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

As some of the money contributed to the FOR goes for war purposes via the withholding tax applied to wages of FOR employees, I think contributions to the FOR should be made with the reservation that none of the money should be used to pay taxes.

The best course for the FOR to follow is to refuse to withhold any tax money from wage payments. Certainly, the tax should not be withheld from the wage of an employee who objects to that withholding.

WALTER GORMLY
Mt. Vernon, Iowa

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I submit the following questions and comments as necessary for consideration if a solution to the tax problem is to be found to which pacifists can subscribe:

1. How can we act *as a group?* Any protesting action is better both in effect and on morale if it is carried on in something like unison.

2. What about the problem posed by Jesus' handing the coin to his enemies and telling them that it belongs to the government which minted it? There is more of a very real problem here than the single, perhaps superficial example may seem to pose.

3. Is there any way to avoid the withholding aspect of the present national tax?

4. Is it possible to pay only that portion of the national tax which does *not* go for military purposes? Or do we want to protest strongly centralized national government *per se?*

DAVID WHITE
Wichita, Kansas

UMT and Hitlerism

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Exactly as Hitler used high-flown phrases, "patriotic" hocus-pocus, and the aid of alcohol-inspired, swaggering "Kriegervereine" (veterans unions) to mystify the German nation, so the American militaristic leaders use "patriotic" propaganda with parades, mass-meetings, bragging demonstrations, and radio appeals to mystify the American nation, and the American Legion as a battering ram to intimidate Congress. Everybody should take the terrific result of that hilarious playing-at-soldiers of the Hitler crowd as a serious warning: The once vigorous, self-conscious, proud German nation with its unexcelled army, established on the most perfect UMT basis, is now helpless, beggarlike and starving. Pride goeth before destruction! Such a tragic fate is not at all impossible for the American nation, if the people follow the shining allurements of swanky militarists!

ANDREW CORDIAN
Flemington, New Jersey

(The writer is a former German officer who saw at first-hand the results of peacetime conscription in that country.—Ed.)

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